

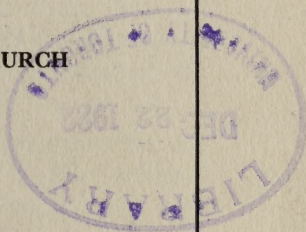
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# IS THERE A CONSPIRACY AGAINST ORGANIZED LABOR?

BY  
SAMUEL HARDEN CHURCH



A REPLY TO MR. SAMUEL GOMPERS

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## IS THERE A CONSPIRACY AGAINST ORGANIZED LABOR?

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**M**R. SAMUEL GOMPERS, President of the American Federation of Labor, is the author of an article which was published in THE NEW YORK TIMES on Sunday, September 17, in which he seeks to prove that "there exists a conspiracy to destroy the trade-union movement—that there is under way a concerted movement on the part of the employers to restore and maintain autocratic control of American industry."

Mr. Gompers then gives a formidable list of organizations of one kind and another which, he intimates, have banded together to make the great plot effective. His long roll of conspirators comprises the United States Chamber of Commerce, with more than 1,400 member organizations; the National Association of Manufacturers, with about 6,000 individual and corporate members; the National Founders' Association, with 540 organizations in forty-four States, and a total of twenty-three national industrial associations included in these agencies; the National Erectors' Association, and, in general, the steel, coal, railroad and banking groups, controlled through interlocking directorates. Mr. Gompers



advances the charge "that while prior to the war there was what might be termed a normal opposition to the organizations of workers, there has been since the conclusion of the war an abnormal or stimulated opposition inspired and in all probability more or less actively directed from a central point."

The identity of this central point may easily be inferred when he states that the basic industries of our country are steel, coal and railroads, and says that of these steel is the undisputed leader. "It was common knowledge," he says, "and it was commonly expected that when the war ended and there was no longer a national demand for production for war needs, the industrial monarchs would turn on labor in a great effort to smash their way back to autocratic domination." After developing his antecedent conditions up to this point, Mr. Gompers undertakes to make his readers believe that with all the industrial and commercial employers of the country banded together in the conspiracy to destroy the trade-union movement, the leaders in these three basic industries—steel, coal and railroads—deliberately brought about the strikes for the purpose of making the conspiracy successful.

### ILLOGICAL AND ABSURD.

It is a curious mental process that brings Mr. Gompers to this illogical and absurd conclusion, and yet the conclusion is an easy invention to a mind forced, as his mind is forced,

to find a palatable explanation for an unpalatable situation. He beholds everywhere, and his fretting followers behold in every part of the country a rising tide of public opinion, irresistible and overwhelming in its growing power, against the further domination of our industrial and social life by the American Federation of Labor and its kindred organizations. This revolt of society, rich and poor alike, against a dictatorial and arrogant oppression that has become intolerable to the masses of our people has now reached a point where its protests are being shouted from the housetops.

There is no plot, there is no conspiracy. These multiplied expressions of protest against an overgrown aggregation of labor units, coming as it does from all the influential and representative bodies which Mr. Gompers has enumerated, and from a myriad of newspapers editorials and interviews, magazine articles, public addresses, and other sources which he has not enumerated, are the simple and natural voice of a nation whose endurance has been overstrained and whose patience has been exhausted.

No part of this universal protest against labor dictation—or at least no substantial part of it—is aimed against the principle of the right to unionize into labor groups. No sane man will dispute the right of workmen to form themselves into unions. The formation of company unions and of unions which embrace the workmen of a single establishment or enterprise would

be a just and reasonable exercise of that right, and collective bargaining within those limits would be an economical benefit.

But the American people do not like things that are too big. Our people have always restrained business when it would grow too big. A few years ago they would not permit the railroads of the Northwest to consolidate. They brought suit against the Steel Corporation, but only to have its consolidations approved and vindicated by our highest court. They dissolved the Harvester group and the Standard Oil group. And now they are face to face with an organization more powerful, more merciless and more dangerous than anything that has ever existed in this country—the American Federation of Labor. That is why the movement which Mr. Gompers calls a conspiracy is sweeping over the country like a prairie fire.

When Mr. Gompers makes his reckless charge that the strikes were planned by the employing interests in order to destroy the one big union of which he is the executive head he makes it necessary to review the situation with fullness and candor. If that review demonstrates the fact that the leadership of labor in America is a criminal leadership, and that criminal leadership justifies suppression, it will be a conclusion which Mr. Gompers has himself drawn upon his own organization by the article which we are now considering.

In charging the strikes to capital Mr. Gompers says, "At the head of the pack stood Steel,"



Let us, then, take up the steel strike first. In the early part of 1919 William Z. Foster published his book "Syndicalism," proclaiming himself an advocate of sabotage and of the seizure and confiscation of all property, the overthrow and destruction of the United States Government, and the nationalization of all industries and their control by shop committees. There must be no State. The current code of morals must be expunged. All department stores, provision shops, clothing houses and factories must be taken over before the police and military forces can be mobilized for their protection, and all labor must be federated into one big union. The book is open before me as I refer to these principles which it inculcates, and I am giving but a faint picture of its radical program.

After the book came into general circulation, Foster, with the support of the American Federation of Labor and the approval of Mr. Gompers, its President, organized and inaugurated the steel strike. The work of sabotage, of direct action, of plant destruction and confiscation which Foster had advocated at the time of his election into the official board of the American Federation of Labor, was immediately begun, and after several months of disorder and violence on the part of the strikers, and of anxiety and loss on the part of the operators, the strike failed miserably, and as an act of caution against the condemnation of the public its discredited promotor, Foster, was relieved of his official job in the Federation.

## STEEL AND THE PACK.

But why did Mr. Gompers and his associates go along with Foster's strike when its avowed purposes were those which have been described, and why did the American Federation of Labor stand back of it and use its financial resources and its extensive membership to make the strike a success? Each man may answer these questions for himself, but every one will see that it was not Steel that stood at the head of the pack. It was rather Steel that the pack had chosen to attack as the first outpost of our heritage of property.

Mr. Gompers's next averment is this: "The railroads, their profit guaranteed by the Government, set to work a movement which finally resulted in the present deplorable conditions." But their profit is not guaranteed by the Government, and so astute a man as Mr. Gompers should well know that. The Transportation act did undertake to provide that the rates on certain railroad groups should be sufficient to provide a net income not exceeding  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. But then, with a Government rate making body sitting in Washington and a Government wage making body sitting in Chicago, and adjusting these two life streams of transportation without reciprocal conference and relationship, it was natural, and always will be natural under political control, that the wages were ordered up, and the rates were ordered down, until insolvency and receiverships stalked in the shadow of our greatest rail-



road systems, and actually overtook some of them.

This general condition of financial paralysis on the railroads was brought about by the policies of Mr. McAdoo as Director General of Railroads during the period of Government control, in his insistence, first, upon the unionization of all railroad labor, and second, upon the standardization of all railroad wages. Universal bankruptcy was sure to be the result of such a policy. A few examples concerning the standardization of wages will show the intolerable evils of such a system. All the men who sold tickets were put into one class at a uniform rate of pay. Thus the ticket seller living in a great city like Chicago, Philadelphia or Boston received the same salary as a ticket seller living in a small country town. The city man paid, perhaps, \$100 a month for his rent, while the village man had a better house at \$20. The city man paid retail prices for everything his family used, while the village man bought direct from the farmers, yet each received \$250 a month, leaving the village man (and this is an actual case) 50 per cent. better off in the cost of living.

Under any proper scheme of wages each man's pay would have been adjusted with reference to his surroundings. Another case is that of a foreman in a small roundhouse at the end of a branch road, whose normal wage was \$90 a month. He had two sons and a daughter, all doing congenial work, and all living together in the family home which they owned without an encumbrance. The

foreman's wage under standardization was suddenly increased from \$90 to \$300 a month, yet the largest shop in the most costly city could pay its foreman no more than that. But the most extravagant illustration in all those reckless political methods of Government control which have brought disaster upon the transportation system of the country is found in the case of the unionization and standardization of the maintenance of way forces on the 253,152 miles of our railroad system.

I have before me a photostat copy of a payroll, dated Jan. 15, 1919, showing this situation on one of the standard railways. The wreck-master on a maintenance of way train at Mahoningtown, Pa., was paid \$230 a month. He was not standardized because there were too few of his kind. But the clerk who kept his little book showing material used was standardized and received \$228—nearly as much as the wreck-master. The cooks were standardized, so the wreck-master's cook got \$284 a month, or \$54 more than his boss. But at the time the standardization was adopted it was decided to make the new and higher rates of pay date back some five months, so while the wreck-master got no back pay the cook received a bonus of \$291.60. We then come to a real and delicious spectacle. The crew of eleven men on this train was composed of certain Italian and other foreign friends who were then temporarily visiting in this country, and they each received \$216.35 as their regular pay, and each one was given back pay amounting to

\$2,542.15. Think of it! Enough to represent the savings of a lifetime, yet the lavish hand of the Government threw into the laps of these men, most of whom came from the floating labor supply, a wholly unnecessary and unjustified bonus amounting in the aggregate to \$750,000,000!

This was the story in every class of railroad labor, until the aggregated payrolls of 1919 showed an increase over 1915 of \$2,229,639,957. We can now understand why the crowd gets up on its legs and yells for Government ownership every time the gentleman on the soap box mentions the subject. It was this situation which required the managers, when the roads came back, to attempt a partial retrenchment, and their efforts to do this were met with the sympathetic and reciprocal help of the employes in all cases except where the labor dictators, who were not on the payrolls, stepped in and agitated the strikes.

This is the answer to Mr. Gompers rash assertion that the railroad managers organized the movement which produced the strike. The shopmen, refusing to heed the guiding voice of the United States Labor Board, began a strike which has entailed great inconvenience and suffering on the public, and has brought the men themselves into the humiliating position of demanding their jobs back on the exact conditions which existed when the strike was declared.

"Coal meanwhile," says Mr. Gompers, "threw down the gauntlet and forced its workers into a strike, ending only after an injunction of sweeping



and until then unheard of provisions." Now, this is a curious lapse on the part of Mr. Gompers. It was not the coal strike, but the shop men's strike which drew out the injunction from Judge Wilkerson against which Mr. Gompers and all his faithful followers are so passionately protesting. And what is it in this injunction that enrages them and makes them seek the impeachment of Attorney General Daugherty? I well remember my first reading of Magna Charta—that venerable and majestic charter of English and American liberty, now more than 800 years old. When that ancient document speaks of the rights of an humble man who goes out to labor in his struggle for existence, this thrilling declaration occurs in it: "No man shall go against him, nor molest him, nor oppress him, nor make him afraid." How many thousands of times since Mr. Gompers has been at the head of his great order have we not needed an enforcement of that magnificent vindication of the right to work! "No man shall make him afraid!"

Mr. Gompers denounces Judge Wilkerson's injunction as an unheard-of outrage against the rights of labor, and demands the impeachment of the Attorney General for applying for the writ, yet there are only two things covered by that document—the first that the strikers shall keep off the property and desist from violence, and the second that the workmen who take their places shall not be molested nor made afraid. It is Magna Charta over again and now sorely needed to vindicate the real rights of labor.

## OPERATORS AND THE STRIKE.

But Mr. Gompers says that "coal forced its workers into a strike." Is his statement true? That is a question of fact. The coal operators were endeavoring to do their share in deflating the cost of living, and they proposed a new scale of wages which they invited the miners to consider, and, if not acceptable to them, to submit the revised rates to arbitration. The United Mine Workers of America, a subsidiary of the American Federation of Labor, immediately refused arbitration, and put forward an extraordinary program demanding monopoly of the right to work in all coal mines; an unlimited check-off whereby every miner, whether union or non-union, and whether he agreed to it or not, must have his weekly dues paid to the union, by the employer; the wage rate to be based upon "the full social value of a ton of coal," which means that the miners were to get the whole price charged to the consumer except the freight—which, again means the confiscation of the capital invested in the mines; the nationalization of the mines under Government administration, and national agreements instead of regional agreements, so that labor can always shut off the total supply of coal when it organizes a strike.

The operators resisted this revolutionary program, and the United Mine Workers declared a general strike. So unyielding and so dictatorial was the spirit in which the demands were presented that President Harding, the most patient of men, was provoked into the utterance of this statement

in his message to Congress on August 18: "The simple but significant truth is revealed that, except for such coal as comes from the districts worked by non-organized miners, the country is at the mercy of the United Mine Workers of America."

What are the proofs of my charge that the leadership of labor is criminal? Some nine years ago there was a series of explosions throughout the country, the most prominent example of which gave them all the general designation of The Los Angeles Times explosions. A score of persons were killed, and property was dynamited in the hundreds of thousands. Justice with her leaden heel started on her course to hunt down the murderers, and before she had finished her work twenty-nine of the immediate subordinate officials of Mr. Gompers in the American Federation of Labor—his confidential counselors—Vice Presidents in his order were sent to the penitentiary after conviction for dynamiting and murder. Eight other officers not of executive rank were also convicted and punished. Yet at this moment, eleven of these guilty men, now out of prison, are back in the American Federation of Labor and holding official positions with pay.

When the railroad and coal strikes were started this year the Steam Shovelmen's Union supplied men to take the places of other union strikers in the mines at Herrin, Ill. John L. Lewis, President of the United Mine Workers of America, instantly sent this telegram to the strikers: "Two of our officers have taken this question up with



officers of the Steam Shovelmen's Union and have failed to secure any satisfaction. Representatives of our organization are justified in treating this crowd as an outlaw organization and in viewing its members in the same light as they would view any other common strike-breakers."

This telegram, which was published in The Herrin Journal and in The Marion (Ill.) Daily Republican, was construed by the excited and inflamed strikers as an order for the execution of the men at work, and that night, after they had surrendered under a flag of truce and secured a solemn promise of protection, some fifty of them were murdered and thirty four others were grievously wounded, Mr. Gompers passed the hideous massacre up with a wave of his hand. Lewis, whose telegram incited the butchery, stands silent. But when the Government took up its tardy pursuit of the crime, Farrington, the President of the Illinois Branch of the United Mine Workers, angrily declared that not a man should be brought to punishment if every dollar in his full treasury could prevent it, and he has already provided counsel who are exercising all the resources of their trade in behalf of the accused.

The massacre at Herrin was followed by the murder of the Sheriff of Cooke County, W. Va., when he was attempting to preserve public order. So great was the violence of the strikers at all points that it was found necessary to call out the troops in six States. Then the members of other unions who were not on strike were incited to

protest against the presence of the troops and to refuse to work while such troops were on protective duty.

### THE MOONEY CONVICTION

When Mooney was convicted of a dynamite outrage which cost thirteen lives, the union labor leaders throughout the country began an agitation for his release which shocked the country, because it was so obviously the expression of labor's attitude toward crime.

A few months ago the American Federation of Labor, through its branch union No. 16,920, picketed a motion picture theatre in New York. I have before me a complete list of the names of the picketers, together with their assumed names. I will give here only their alias names, Rogues' Gallery numbers, and the crimes of which they stood convicted: Sass, No. 25,757, criminal assault; Katzie, No. 16,400, pickpocketing; Joe, the Mock, No. 52,293, assault; Stungy, No. 19,475, grand larceny; Nigger, No. 13,784, burglary; Murph, No. 18,582, burglary. What consideration such men would give to other workmen under the rule of Magna Charta it would not be hard to guess.

During the present shopmen's strike disorder, destruction, assault and frequently murder have been the methods used from day to day, and in every case where guards, policemen or soldiers have through necessity been provided, the labor leaders have uttered loud and enraged protests. On September 11 some of the strikers, posing

as new employes, entered the McMyler shops at Conneaut, where six Erie engines and three Nickel Plate engines had been sent for repairs. One of the men in this group afterward acknowledged that their purpose was to cause dissatisfaction among the men. "It was also," he said, "to plug the flues of the engines so that after they are on the road for half an hour or so they will go dead. We tried to put the engines on the bum, so that they will be more crippled when they are taken out of the shop than when they were put in." Among the things that were assigned to the strikers were the wrecking of railroad equipment, the murder of watchmen and guards and of loyal workmen, whenever they could be reached, the burning of bridges, causing of wrecks that could be blamed on "poor equipment," breaking signal systems, pulling spikes from rails and obstructing the mails.

On the night of September 8 the strikers removed all the bolts from two rails on the Pennsylvania Railroad at a lonely spot near Garfield, Ohio, fifteen minutes before the expected arrival of a fast passenger train. Fortunately the train was a few minutes late, and in the meantime a faithful track walker discovered the condition of the rails before the destruction of the passengers could be effected.

On September 21 a building used for sleeping quarters for loyal employes of the Pennsylvania Railroad at Pittsburgh caught fire or was set



on fire in the early morning hours, and while the men were attempting to escape from doors and windows they were stoned by the strikers from the adjacent highway and six of the men were burned to death.

The stoppage of trains in the desert, with hundreds of passengers on board who were returning from California to their homes in the East, was an effort, criminal from every point of view, to start a sympathetic strike of the train brotherhoods. When the country rose in mass against this outrage, it was denounced by the officers of the order, but the officers of the order constantly protested against the presence of guards on the railroad premises, and threatened to call a strike if they were not removed, knowing all the time that if the guards were taken away the property would be destroyed.

### **UNTERMYER'S CROSS EXAMINATION OF GOMPERS.**

If Mr. Gompers really cherishes any honest belief that the movement to restrain and control union labor and bring it within the law, and which he terms a conspiracy, is not justified by the conduct of his organization he should read again the report of his cross examination by Samuel Untermeyer on April 21 before the Lockwood committee of the New York Legislature. Mr. Gompers admitted that expulsion or exclusion from a union is equivalent to "capital punishment" as to those journeymen who desire to

pursue their trade, but claimed over and over again that the correction of these evils must be left to the voluntary action of the labor unions.

When Mr. Untermeyer drove home the fact that a heavy fine which an offending member or an offending group is unable to pay condemns such workmen to unpaid idleness for the rest of their lives, and asked whether the State and the courts should not be given the power to grant redress, Mr. Gompers declared a hundred and fifty times that the law must never touch the actions of the labor unions. Mr. Untermeyer presented a multitude of examples where the labor unions, after making contracts to build certain great structures in New York City according to agreed and reasonable specifications, had violated their agreements and refused to work until the specifications were changed to suit the laborers. For example, he cited the case of a plasterer belonging to the Plasterers' Union, who compelled the owner of the Ambassador Hotel to tear down part of a wall because the laborer did not approve the color and style in the imitation of Travatine marble from an artistic point of view, although it was entirely satisfactory to the owner and the architect.

"Don't you think," asked Mr. Untermeyer, "that there ought to be some right lodged somewhere to that owner to get damages for the action of the Executive Committee of the labor union?" And Mr. Gompers answered, "I think not." Then Mr. Untermeyer reminded him that the owner of that hotel had erected mantels made

of Keene's cement, which enables the affixing of the mantel to the building at less cost than by other methods, that the Plasterers' Union compelled the builder to destroy these mantels and substitute others to be attached by a more costly method, and that the builder had lost more than one hundred mantels in that way; and he asked:

"Should not the builder have a remedy at law against the union?" And Mr. Gompers answered, "No!" Mr. Untermeyer stated the case of the expulsion of 15,000 electrical workers in New York, and the substitution of another group of only 1,200 to take their places, the reason being that the larger group preferred to keep an independent union, while the smaller group belonged to Mr. Gompers's union, and asked what would happen to the 15,000 men thus prohibited from work. Mr. Gompers answered that they should be forced to go into his union, but later qualified this by saying that he did not have physical force in his mind.

Mr. Untermeyer asked him again and again whether all these grievances of society did not call for restraining and controlling legislation, and again and again he answered, "No." Mr. Gompers insisted that society through its agencies, the Legislature and the courts, should not be permitted to try to suppress these abuses, but that it must abide the moral evolution of the trade-union movement. He would oppose with all his power any attempt to secure corrective legislation, or any exercise of control by the courts,



through legislation now existing, and the law, he declared, must never be invoked in any cause that touches union labor.

But it is not alone in resisting the enactment of laws and the restraining powers of the courts that Mr. Gompers is drawing upon himself and his order the condemnation of the American people. He has so manoeuvred his game that by putting pressure and fear upon Congressmen and legislators he has succeeded in grafting into our State and national statutes the almost total remission as against his followers of all the pains and penalties, the obligations and responsibilities which control all other citizens. Thus, when the coal unions declare a strike we are suddenly confronted with the discovery that in the States of Indiana and Illinois no coal may be mined except by miners who hold Mr. Gompers's card; and when the courts are asked for an injunction that will stop the butcheries in Illinois and West Virginia, Mr. Gompers points us to a mysterious clause in Section 20 of the Clayton act, whereby he claims that all power of restraint against labor has been forbidden.

### **NOW THE FOUR-HOUR DAY.**

During the war no attempt was made to hold union labor to an economical efficiency. In 1917-18, the war period, there were 7,500 strikes in this country, every one of which affected the good fortune of our troops abroad. And now that the war is over we find Mr. Gompers declaring to Mr. Untermeyer that he believes the

demand for a four-hour day would be a fair concession to organized labor.

And the goal which the unions are heading for is the goal of William Z. Foster—the confiscation of property, the overthrow of Government, control by shop committees of all industries, nationalization of the mines, railroads and mills, and then, by a logical consequence, which contradicts all the protestations of Mr. Gompers's career, the enforcement of labor—for labor would be much less free then than it is now. There are a thousand confidential proofs before me as I write which give conviction to this statement. I will cite two of them; At Council Bluffs, Iowa, the Central Labor Union has unanimously adopted a resolution demanding that the American Federation of Labor shall undertake a radical forward movement which closely approximates to the Foster program. At Chicago, the Chicago Federation of Labor has adopted a resolution calling upon the American Federation of Labor to expand its ranks so as to embrace all unions of every kind and internationalize itself to the end that it may at last have absolute control of production.

But Mr. Gompers is correct—not as to his plot, not as to his conspiracy—but as to the fact itself. The American people are afraid of him. He is much too big, much too powerful, for their welfare. His followers have annoyed and vexed and injured our people much too long for further endurance. His strikes have stopped our mills, our mines, our railroads. They have inflated the cost of living for ourselves and for him. They

have robbed the poor of food and coal and ice. They have deprived little children of milk. They have stopped the publication of newspapers, magazines and books. They have arrested the burial of the dead. And the figure in which Mr. Gompers presents himself to our people is the figure of a man whose face is inflamed with simulated rage, whose fist is raised high in the air, and whose voice constantly echoes one angry and defiant shout that no law shall pass that touches him or his order, and that no court shall restrain his men from the commission of acts of savagery which have shocked the world. That is what is meant by this enormous mass of resolutions adopted by responsible and representative men everywhere in America—that the dictation of the American Federation of Labor must cease, that strikes must come to an end, and that the open shop shall make labor free.

And why not? Is not the strike the cave man's method? And does not the strike, as its principles have been developed by the American Federation of Labor, mean, not the right to quit work, but the right to quit work until the striker shall enforce his own terms without review or discussion by any other power but himself, and while he is thus standing on his own demands to destroy the plant and murder the man who is fully satisfied to take his place? The strike is war—war of the most atrocious kind. And war must cease.

The founders of this Republic, in stating in the Declaration of Independance the principles which

should underlie the government of a free people, placed life first, property second and honor third because property is so knit into the fibre of life that there can be no life without property, and they expressed as a self evident truth that all men are entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. There is no liberty for American workmen under the harsh rigors of union labor as brought out in the examination of Mr. Gompers by Mr. Untermeyer. There is no liberty for the coal miners who are forced to permit the payment of \$3 a week to Mr. Gompers and his friends. There is no liberty for all those other workmen who comprise the 2,000,000 union membership in this country when they are required to pay an aggregate sum annually out of their wages which amounts to \$60,000,000 a year. all of which is spent without an accounting.

#### **NEED OF NEW MEN AND NEW METHODS.**

There must be new men and new methods in the counsels of labor. Labor should seek the ablest brains in the nation for its guidance—men like Mr. Taft, Mr. Root, Mr. Hughes. It should choose men who will bring into the controversies of industrial life the sweet reasonableness of justice—men of tact and kindness, men who know the value as they know the necessity of compromise, men who can perceive the great truths of an economic situation and adjust their recommendations to the fact. But it is the habit of the labor leaders of today to make every suggestion in the form of an arbitrary demand, allowing no ground of compromise, just as the



Kaiser would submit his ultimatum for the control of the world. And then they follow the Kaiser's way of death and hell.

I cherish no enmity, no hostility to labor. Many articles published in The Labor World and other journals will give the proof of that. My whole life, indeed, shows it. No man in the labor ranks, whoever he may be, was born into a deeper poverty than I was. The man with a dinner bucket going forth in the morning to make a living for his family is a sacred object to me. I have always rejoiced in his welfare and his prosperity. And sometimes I think that I would like to be the President of the American Federation of Labor. In that case I would have my men sit like brothers in conference with the managers of every enterprise. I would have them study methods of improvement and advancement. In many cases, after they had bought a few shares of stock in the concern, I would ask positions for them on the Board of Directors. I would teach them to read the balance sheets and the financial statements so that they could inform their associates of the economic conditions. In the rising or falling costs of living I would have them act intelligently and sensibly on the question of wages. I would abolish the strike as an unlawful and unholy thing. I would stop boycotting and picketing. I would advise them to seek promotion on skill and merit and not on seniority.

I would aim to increase production, and thereby justify a shorter workday. I would put a stop to all arbitrary assessments, depending upon

the voluntary contribution of a small annual income. I would publish the disposition of all sums thus received. I would make myself the friend of the great captains of industry, upon whose friendship and sense of righteousness I would depend for justice to my men. And then I know that my cause would carry itself to success. But I would never put my fist in the air and shout to the world that no law or court could ever touch my order. And if one of my followers ever attempted the destruction of a plant, or the murder of another workman, I should spend every cent in my treasury to bring such a miscreant to punishment.

If the American Federation of Labor will elect me to its headship on such a platform, I will give up every other business activity and accept the job. For then it shall be true that every workman in America can walk the street with his head upright, knowing that no man shall go against him, nor molest him, nor oppress him, nor make him afraid.





